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SUBJECT Political Information: Activities and Reactions
of the Mongol Delegates to the National Assembly

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1. On the whole, the Mongol delegates to the National Assembly are disappointed in the Nationalist Government and have decided that it is absolutely useless to hope that this government can and/or will solve the numerous problems pertaining to Mongolia, principal of which is that of Inner Mongolia's desire for a high degree of political autonomy. Over a period of many years, countless attempts have been made by the Mongols to present their case to the Nationalist Government and to the world; to justify their firm conviction that Mongols should be ruled by Mongols and that they should not be made the subject of oppression by the Chinese or any other people. Being situated in a remote area and surrounded by governments which do not sympathize with these sentiments, the Mongols have failed in these attempts at world recognition.
2. In anticipation of the recent National Assembly, the Mongols believed that although the possibility was remote that anything beneficial to the welfare of their people would be gained through the Assembly, they felt that it presented a good opportunity to propagandize Inner Mongolia's standpoint. Representatives from all parts of China would be present; foreign correspondents would be there; and the attention of the world would be concentrated on Nanking. Therefore, though they harbored a pessimistic attitude, the Mongol delegates to the Assembly who had arrived in Peiping and the Mongolian Youth Alliance (MYA) held separate meetings prior to the opening of the Assembly to plan a united strategy to be used at the session.
3. The MYA decided (1) to attack the Nationalist Government on the grounds of discrimination if the Province and Prefecture Organization Laws were enacted and the League and Banner Organization Law shelved; (2) to demand a high degree of autonomy if FU Tao-yl succeeded in his plan to dissolve the Mongol leagues in the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan and Jehol by utilizing the Chinese representatives from these provinces to the National Assembly; and (3) to demand a clear explanation of just what "rational methods" will be used by the Nationalist Government in guaranteeing the rights of minority races. (Articles 5 and 168 of the new constitution state that the rights of the minority races shall be "rationally" guaranteed.) Since LIU Lien-ko (劉廉科), senior representative of the Mongolian Kuomintang (KMT) Clique had sanctioned the above policy, it was believed that the MYA would secure some KMT cooperation in pursuing it.

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4. The Mongol representatives to the National Assembly decided:
 - a. To propose a revision of the constitution which would make it possible for the Mongols to accept or reject laws pertaining to them and to their own ethnic problems. Under the stipulations of the present constitution, the Mongols are not able to pass a bill in either the National Assembly or the Legislative Yuan, and because of a numerical technicality the Mongols are unable even to propose a topic for discussion in the National Assembly. They believe, therefore, that it is an irrational, discriminating constitution and, although they are unable to effect national policies, they at least desire to hold the right to influence and even determine policies on Mongolia.
 - b. To demand that the Mongol leagues be placed under a certain autonomous organ which would be directly responsible to the Executive Yuan. The policy of the Nationalist Government toward the Mongols has been to disperse and assimilate them, a policy which was instituted at the beginning of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1912). Theoretically, the leagues are directly affiliated with the Executive Yuan, but actually they have been controlled more or less by the provincial administrations. In 1933 the Nationalist Government announced its Mongolian Leagues and Banners Organization Law, but has not yet enforced it. Under this law the leagues are independent of the provinces. The Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission has presented a demand to the Central Government for execution of the law, but strong opposition from the provincial governors through their representatives in Nanking has prevented it. These area or provincial chiefs, such as FU Tso-yi and WU Huan-chang (吳煥章), head of Hsingan Province, advocate putting the leagues and banners under the supervision of the province, but the Mongols believe that a central autonomous organ would eradicate the present weakness caused by the lack of lateral liaison between one league and another and would also free them from direct suppression by the province.
 - c. To solicit cooperation on the above two points from the other Mongol representatives who would be in Nanking and then to seek the cooperation of other border area delegates, such as those from Tibet and Sinkiang.
 - d. To send additional regional representatives from the various leagues and banners to Nanking to support the official representatives. These regional representatives were to be active outside the Assembly.

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5. In early March about fifty Mongol delegates and about forty regional representatives departed for Nanking from Peiping. Many of the delegates were former subordinates of Prince TE, Mongol revolutionary and head of the Japanese-sponsored Mongolian Autonomous Government, and almost all of the regional representatives had served as officials under TE during the days of that Government. Upon their arrival in Nanking these men consulted LI Yung-hsin (李永新) and PAI Yun-ti (白雲梯), the Mongol elder statesmen of the KMT, in an effort to unite the policies of all Mongol delegates. The two men expressed the opinion that it was best to have the Mongol leagues affiliated with the Executive Yuan and opposed the establishment of an autonomous organ above the leagues on the grounds that it was premature. Unity of opinion was thus not achieved. On the other hand, the proposal to revise the constitution was supported by a united opinion, and negotiations were carried out with representatives from the border areas and those of the various parties and cliques in an effort to obtain enough signatures to present the proposal for action. But the required number of signatures could not be obtained, since almost all the Chinese delegates refused to sign it and the matter had to be dropped.

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6. Many of the Mongol representatives, disappointed at the trend of affairs, then proposed that the Mongol representatives should withdraw from the Assembly as a body. LI Yung-hsin's clique [REDACTED] was opposed to this, however, as he is a staunch KMT member. After a long period of discussion, it was decided that the Mongol delegates should attend, if only to prevent the revelation to the world of internal strife and the loss of face in the eyes of the Chinese. The Mongols knew that no epochal events would take place in the National Assembly but they wished to lay bare the aimless, unmerciful policies of the Nationalist Government toward the Mongols and afford the government officials an opportunity to reflect on Mongol problems. They also wished to take advantage of the opportunity to make foreign countries understand Inner Mongolia and gain their sympathy. It was decided that speeches should be made by

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Jakchitsechin (Chinese phoneticization: Cha-ch'i-ssu-ch'in 扎奇斯欽), Chogbagator (Chinese phoneticization: Chao-kr-pa-tu-erh 超克巴圖爾; Chinese name: CHEN Shao-wu 陳紹武) and Dutubi (previously reported as Dotob) (Chinese phoneticization: Tu-to-po 圖多博). Although no important reaction was expected from those speeches, a certain satisfaction would be felt by the Mongol delegates in having "had their say". The topics dealt with by these speakers were the failure of the National Government's policy toward Inner Mongolia, the speedy realization of Mongol autonomy and Mongol refugee relief. The time element and the restriction on the number of speakers made it impossible to be fully effective. Thus, as far as the Mongols were concerned, this session of the National Assembly was a complete failure, since they were not able even to propose the bill to revise the constitution, which they had anticipated. Moreover, their attempts to meet and talk with foreign correspondents were frustrated by many obstacles.

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7. The Mongol delegates to the National Assembly can be divided into the following three general groups:

- a. **Racial Principle group:** This group demands a high degree of political autonomy for the Mongols. Most of its leaders were officials in either the Manchukuo Puppet Government or Prince TE's Mongolian Autonomous Government. Most of the youths throughout Inner Mongolia belong to this group, the MYA furnishing the leadership. Their policy is to fight against the Nationalist Government until they attain their ideal. They are anti-Chinese and uncooperative towards the Nationalist Government, and, as a result, are under surveillance by government officials. This group receives the strongest support of the Mongolian people.
- b. **Regional Autonomy group:** This group favors the policies of the Nationalist Government and would be satisfied with mere regional autonomy within the Nationalist Government structure. The policy of its members is to cooperate with the Nationalist Government to the fullest extent, and the main element of the group is that which is made up of men who hold important positions in either the Nationalist Government or the KMT and those who belong to the CC Clique. The leaders are Li Yung-hsin and CC Clique colleagues. The members are all pro-Chinese and most of them cannot speak their mother tongue. It is an interesting fact that most of the important members are from Kharchin Left Banner (119-, 42-). Relations with the group are extremely bad, and whenever the opportunity presents itself, its members, utilizing the influence of the Nationalist Government or the CC Clique, attempt to subvert members of the Racial Principle group. On the other hand, the Racial Principle group has ostracized the members of the Regional Autonomy group, which receives strong support from the Nationalist Government and the KMT but almost none from the Mongolian people.
- c. **Neutral Group:** This group can be divided into the "Opportunist" group and the group made up of those who are neutral for political reasons. The opportunists are those who are trying to consolidate their own positions. They take a passive attitude toward political activities and endeavor to judge the respective influences of the Racial Principle and the Regional Autonomy advocates, hoping to cast their lots with the group most likely to attain dominance in the future. Many of them have no political ambitions or ability, and the group includes people from all classes and areas. Most of the politically neutral Mongols in the second category are from Sinkiang and Chinghai Provinces. Most Chinghai Mongols have not expressed loyalty to either the Racial Principle group or the Regional Autonomy group because they fear suppression from MA Pu-fang (馬步芳), warlord of the province, and those in Sinkiang find themselves in an even more delicate predicament. Most of the Sinkiang delegates to the National Assembly came from western or northwestern parts of the province which are either under USSR influence or near regions which are under USSR influence. If they should side with the Racial Principle group, the Nationalist Government would regard them as "radical elements" and attempt to suppress them. If they should side with the CC Clique's Regional Autonomy group, the USSR might attempt to

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suppress them on their home grounds. Secretly, however, most ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Mongols side with the Racial Principle group.

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8. Unable to accomplish anything constructive during the National Assembly, the Mongol representatives and members of the Legislative Yuan held a meeting in the middle of May. Other influential Mongols in Nanking also attended, and the total number present was 200. It was decided to establish the following organs:
- a. A Mongolian Leagues and Banners Autonomy Preparation Council (蒙古盟旗自治籌備委員會), a quasi-government organization to include members from the various leagues and banners. Its work will consist of preparing, studying and planning autonomy for the Mongol leagues and banners. The main office will be in Peiping.
 - b. A Mongolian Autonomy Advancement Association, a private organization along the lines of a political party. Headquarters will be in Nanking.
 - c. A Mongolian Refugee Relief Association. Negotiations are being carried on to unite this organization with the Mongolian Relief Association in Peiping, which is connected with the American China Relief Mission.

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